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771 pers is evident at the festival of The Dragon King of the Lake, in no way a goddess, and at that of Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld.

It is certain that there is, especially among the educated class, a feeling that worship of the gods should be left to women, but this idea is not sufficiently precise to give rise to rigid rules or taboos. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship need a man to be performed, and cannot be left to the inclination or piety of women. Only a male descendant can make the sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, and failing sons a man must adopt a nephew or a distant relative to perform these rites. The elaborate rituals which are described in ancient Chinese literature, and which are or were, perhaps practised in modern times by great families in other parts of China, form no part of Min Chia practice. Ancestor Worship can be divided into a simple daily rite, and a few more ceremonial occasions recurring on fixed dates in the year.

769 353 Every family has an ancestral altar, usually a long table, which may be set up in the principal reception room on the ground floor of the house, or, often, in the long bare upper room, which by poor families is also used as a store room. On the table stand three ancestral tablets, representing the heads of the family in the previous three generations, and these are flanked by vases of flowers, and a few ornaments, with an incense burner in front. Sometimes, rather incongrously, a statue of Kuan Yin also finds a place on this altar. On the wall behind the altar red paper strips bearing the characters for Heaven and Earth are pasted, these rather vague powers, once worshipped by the Emperors, being thus associated with the ancestral spirits. Before the morning and evening meals one of the male members of the household, usually the son of the house, comes to the altar, strikes a gong, and lights a stick of incense in the burner before the

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tablets, and bows, He then fetches the bowls containing the morning meal, and places them on the altar, again strikes the gong, and waits with downcast eyes for about a minute. Then, bowing once more to the altar, he takes the dishes away and the meal is eaten.

This simple rite suffices to associate the spirits of the dead with the daily life of their descendants and ensure their well-being. On certain occasions in the year more elaborate ceremonies are performed. The first fourteen days of the 7th Lunar month, a period corresponding to the early part of August in the Solar Calendar, is traditionally the time when the spirits of the ancestors return to dwell in the family home and observe the conduct and condition of their descendants. On the night of the 15th of the 7th Month, when the spirits are due to depart, the ceremony called Shu Pao, "Burning the Bundles" is performed. At dusk an altar, usually a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall, where the altar of the ancestral spirits stands. It is covered with a piece of red embroidery and spread with a number of dishes of sweetmeats, cooked food, fruit, and six cups of rice wine. An incense burner flanked by two candles stands in the centre of the altar, and in front of it, on the courtyard floor, a brazier with a wood fire is kindled. This is flanked by clusters of incense sticks stuck into the crevices of the pavement.

The head of the family, or the senior male present, kneels to the right of the altar on a cushion, facing outwards, and one of the women hands him a pile of cardboard boxes covered with coloured paper, made to resemble Chinese books. On each of these is inscribed the name, date of birth and death, and age at decease of one ancestor of the family, and every ancestor has such a "book", while those of most importance have several, each with an identical inscription. Taking a pile of these "books" the head of the family reads

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K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

[1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a large meal, while the children play among the pine trees, and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot, such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft. above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince, legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles, and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family, and the women last, when all the guests have been served. The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter, takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

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769 and light new sticks of incense which are left burning there.
527 Men, on the other hand, do not perform these acts of
188 reverence on this occasion. The *dso mu* custom is thus partly a religious rite, and no doubt primarily so, but also a picnic and a welcome outing in delightful surroundings. Nor is it strictly limited to the tombs of the male ancestors of the family. On these occasions the descendants on the female side are also invited, and I have observed girls making obeisance to ancestral tombs which were not those of their own family, but of their mother's family. The custom of inviting a large number of guests in no way connected with the family (I myself was often invited in this way) differentiates the *dso mu* rite from the Shu Pao, which is private and for the family itself only. Unlike the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, it is customary to *dso mu* more than once a year, for the autumn month corresponding with the Solar October, when the rains are over, and the cold winds not yet begun, is equally favoured. Nor do families content themselves with one visit at spring and another in the autumn, for it is not uncommon to make two visits in the same season.

769 The atmosphere on these occasions is in no way solemn,
527 for the Min Chia do not have the feelings of terror and dread associated with graves in western cultures. The open hillside, with the graves scattered among the pine trees and rocks, has none of the gloomy associations of a cemetery, and tombs are not treated with the half concealed aversion masquerading as reverence with which we are familiar. The children play among their forbears' graves unconcerned, the elders recline in the shade of the monuments, or rest their backs against the sloping mounds. The atmosphere is informal, happy and intimate. The feelings about graves are rather those of pride at the excellence of the workmanship or the skill of the caligraphy on the inscription than thoughts of mortality. A Min Chia will show you his father's tomb

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527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room [533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

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of age by all others male and female, come out and *k'e t'ou* (prostrate themselves) before the altar on which the ancestral tablets stand. Pinches of food from the dishes and drops of wine from the cups are scattered and poured on the pavement before the altar by the head of the family.

During the morning the family is visited by members of collateral branches and relatives on the female side, who on arrival also *k'e t'ou* before the altar, while visiting friends not related, bow ceremoniously to the tablets of the ancestors. The tablets, regarded as the resting place of the spirits of the deceased, are in fact treated with the same courtesy as living parents or grandparents. Members of the family who go out from time to time to visit their relatives elsewhere pay the same respects to the tablets in each house at which they call. The chanting and music which have continued all day with brief pauses, cease about four in the afternoon, when the musicians, after being given some refreshments, depart. The altar is then removed and the family sits down to the New Year Feast. These ceremonies are explained as homage to the ancestors and an offering designed to assure their goodwill and protection for the coming year, while the association of Buddhist rites with the ceremony may be regarded as intended to secure the assistance of the gods also.

The behaviour of those present during these rites is not so reverent as during the Shu Pao ceremony, partly because the chanting and music continue all day, and daily tasks must be performed at the same time, partly because the atmosphere is one of gaiety and holiday making. While the actual prostrations before the altar are made with due reverence, the family as a whole pays little attention to the chanting of sutras and the music, which is the work of the hired musicians, only assisted for a short time at the beginning by members of the family. It is said that formerly these musicians were Buddhist monks, as the chanting of sutras would

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527 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the
769 district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in
788 every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in
779 fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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before the image of the deity, and add a stick or two of incense and some paper spirit money to the fire. At one shrine, that of Amida Buddha, a sort of religious cock-shy attracts great crowds. A curtain is suspended before the image with a narrow slit through which he can be seen. The worshippers endeavour to throw cash through the slit and hit the god, and to do this is regarded as very lucky. The numerous coins which miss slide down the curtain into a wooden chest to swell the temple funds. The economic aspect of the festival from the point of view of the monks is indeed everywhere quite apparent.

The only shrine which has what might be called a set service is that of Kuan Yin herself, in the main hall. Here all day monks chant sutras to the accompaniment of music while the lay worshippers come and go, prostrating themselves and burning their incense at the shrine door. Elsewhere, in corners of the courtyards, or at the foot of one of the great trees which shade them, circles of pious women tend an altar and an incense fire throughout the day. Standing in a half circle before the altar they chant sutras, or often simply repeat the names of Kuan Yin and Amida, keeping time on little gongs and wooden drums made in the shape of a fish. These women belong to societies which take a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat and wine, and meet at the festivals to perform these rites. They set up their own altar, a simple table covered with dishes of fruit and sweetmeats, and burn their incense before it. They are in no sense priestesses, for they are married women, usually elderly, who have joined a society of abstainers, the object of which is to acquire merit individually. Nor do they confine themselves to the worship of one god. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and at that of the Mountain God and the Lake Dragon King, the same women go through the same rites.

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the classificatory particle is "*ni*" thus a "fairy" is "*Sai a ni*"—whereas the Min Chia for "an exorcist" would be "*Sai dser a ni*"; the term *Sai Dser*, possibly meaning Fairy Man, would be one compound word.

The Sai Dser are in ordinary life peasants like their neighbours, owning land and cultivating it. They only perform their exorcist functions on occasion, when called upon, but they hand their arts down from father to son, and it is said that they do not ever recruit outsiders. In this way they differ from the Shamans of the Northern Steppes who are in part recruited from children of suitable temperament or neurotic individuals unrelated to the existing Shamans. The Sai Dser are called upon in cases of sickness, when the patient is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit or a demon of disease. In some cases they merely advise the family to sacrifice a fowl at the shrine of the Mountain God, or at that of some other local deity whom the family have neglected. In all cases this is the first advice given, the Sai Dser only performing their special rites when sacrifice has failed to alleviate the patient's distress.

The rite performed by the Sai Dser is called "*Tiao Gur*", meaning to "dance (out) the ghost". "*Gur*" is a word commonly used for malevolent ghosts of deceased persons, but also used for demons, which are in fact scarcely distinguished from them. The Min Chia do not attribute all sickness to the action of malevolent spirits, but have no hard and fast line between the kind of disease which is regarded as caught by infection or contagion such as leprosy, and those less easily diagnosed which are believed to be caused by possession. The name used by the Sai Dser for their rite clearly expressed the belief that its purpose is to dance out the ghost which has possessed the patient.

This dance is performed by two Sai Dser at a time, and closely resembles the dancing at the Gwer Sa La, except for

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the fact that one Sai Dser, though a man, is dressed unmistakably as a woman. The Sai Dser dance round the patient, reeling and swaying, chanting in a high pitched blurred voice so that the words they use cannot be distinguished by those present, for these chants, though I believe partly impromptu, are secret formulas which give control over the ghosts. Min Chia witnesses of the rite at which I was also present, afterwards told me that some of the words used were obscene, but that they could not catch the sense of the context. As at the Gwer Sa La the costumes of the Sai Dser were fantastic, and worn in a disordered fashion. The whole rite thus bore a striking similarity to the dances performed by a pair of participants in the Gwer Sa La.

When it was suggested that the dancers in that festival were Sai Dser, Min Chia informants evaded giving a direct answer, saying that no one knew who the Sai Dser were, or that they were unacquainted with the identity of the dancers at the Gwer Sa La. Informants were embarrassed at these questions and appeared to be somewhat ashamed of the Sai Dser and their activities. In fact the Sai Dser are surrounded with a good deal of mystification. It was a long time before I could hear of them, and still longer before it was possible to witness their rite. This is very rarely performed in the city, and I believe this is because the authorities are hostile to such rites. The same hostility towards the Gwer Sa La ceremony is explained by the Chinese as due to its lewd character, which is certainly not very conspicuous, but the Chinese declare that formerly it was accompanied by indecent behaviour and sexual licence. This is not the case at present, and Min Chia informants, while not directly denying that this may have been so, say they never heard of it. The identity of the dancers in the Gwer Sa La with the Sai Dser cannot be established, but one may observe that if any young man can perform in the Gwer Sa

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788 La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to
791 see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

796 The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

mewu

515 remnants of butter on their fingers, they rub it into their faces, and it forms a protection against the strong mountain sun.

Ornaments and Weapons

301 Men and women lay much more stress on ornament than on bodily hygiene. The men wear one earring (1), either on the right or the

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 6.

left ear. It is made of silver and is usually set with a large red coral. The tent nomads also /15/ occasionally wear a large, ring-shaped ornament of silver set with corals, above one ear. This is not, however, characteristic of their costume, but belongs to the sedentary Fantzu who live farther south in the region of Labrang. Less frequently the men wear simple silver finger rings as earrings. A rosary is 788 301 usually worn around the neck as a chain. It is made of thick black disks of fragrant wood, or, what is simpler and cheaper, of small wooden beads. Sometimes they also wear their rosary (2) at their

2. Rockhill 1), Plates 35, 36.

belt or on the rope around their hips. The black chain around their necks is called tsä-nga in Tibetan, or su-chu in Chinese. On this chain hangs in front either a round disk resembling a Chinese chess figure or a large round amber or lacquered ball. On their thin rosaries they wear a square or circular silver box containing some kind of sacred relics, mostly pieces of cloth, amulets and often a Buddha picture, usually that of the Dalai-Lama or the Panchan-Lama. (3). The front of this box is always decorated with a coral

3. Rockhill 1), Plate 5.

in the center. The length of the sides or the diameter of this small amulet box can vary a great deal, but averages about 6 to 9 centimeters and 4 to 6 centimeters respectively. It is about 1 to 2 centimeters deep.

411 Apart from these actual ornaments, however, the men set great store by the decoration of their weapons. They always carry their weapons with them when they go any distance from their tents, even in peaceful times. Their weapons consist of a gun, a sword and a dagger. Until recently old-fashioned guns (1) were generally used,

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 23.

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a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall. 352

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place. 778 353 352

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds. 234 462 342

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles. 231 788 343

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the 342

They were about 10 centimeters high and were shaped somewhat like 751
a tripod, pointed at the top. When I asked the meaning of these figures I got no clear answer. But later I was told that these figures were supposed to represent dead Communists. Symbolic corpses such as these are called lon-ma. Armed warriors gathered in the temple and while the lamas read prayers, they made threatening gestures with their weapons in the direction from which the Communists were expected, and struck the "corpses" symbolically. This magic performance is staged before every war.

Not only people protect themselves with the help of amulets; the latter are also used to protect animals. If the Fantzu are / 56/ worried about the health of a horse, they tie a bunch of ribbons on its mane. They buy the ribbons from a lama who makes them efficacious by means of magic formulas. The sacred yaks and sheep are protected in the same way. The ribbons must be of five different colors: red, yellow, green, blue, and white. They are cotton or silk, depending on the wealth of the owner.

It was my impression that, apart from the belief in obos, the 787
magic influence of the configuration of the earth's surface and the distribution of water, the thing the Chinese call feng-shui, does not seem as important to the tent nomads as it does in China. The feng-shui is judged only by the lamas, for example, when a tent-site is being selected. It is considered unlucky to pitch a tent opposite the main gate of a house, a thing that can happen if one is traveling in the region of the sedentary Fantzu. The most important protection for a tent is the prayer flag. Within the tent people are careful that they do not step over the hearth when they pass from one section of the room to the other. I learned nothing about special superstitions connected with eating or traveling.

The oft-mentioned reading aloud of sacred writings by bŏm-bu [782]
lamas or laymen may be called prayer. Important forms of prayer 788
are also telling one's beads, and prayer flags and prayer wheels which are specifically Lamaistic. Beads can be counted any time one happens to have a hand free. In almost every tent there is also a hand prayer wheel (1) which usually lies on the altar when it is

1, Rockhill 1), page 738 f.

not in use. It is turned morning and evening by both men and women. One seldom finds stationary wheels that are turned by hand. Among the tent Fantzu I did not see any prayer wheels turned by water power or by

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the people visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and böm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all 782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ST 142 in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other race, is doubtless a mixed one.

S 609 Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferrymen, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see S ST the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who • 788 had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the 609 moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

S 609 In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to